DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 081 674 SO 006 097

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TITLE Metropolitan Spatial Injustice: An Alternative Approach to Instruction in Urban Geography.
PUB DATE [Apr 72]
NOTE 45p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS City Planning; City Problems; *College Role; Course Content; Curriculum Guides; Economics; *Geography; Geography Instruction; *Human Geography; Instructional Innovation; Metropolitan Areas; Political Power; Social Problems; *Socioeconomic Influences; *Sociology; Teaching Methods; Universities; Urban Studies

ABSTRACT

The definition of geography as the study of man and the realities of his socio-economic milieu is the thesis on which this course in urban geography is based. The functions of the university are observed to be: 1) to ensure economic and cultural continuance; and 2) to advance knowledge and ways of knowing. The first of these functions appears to place the university in a position which is conservative or supportive of the status quo, while the second tends to induce criticism that is merely academic and removed from real material problems. This alternative approach is based on a definition of urban geography emphasizing society as a totality. After mentioning a suitable tenor and available resources, the course is outlined in seven sections: methods and teaching techniques, the city in history, the city as an economic place, the city as a cultural place, the city as a political place, suggested areas for case studies, and the city of the future. The purpose of the course outline is to provide background, a philosophic and analytic framework, upon which to organize a course on the city. Each section describes the coverage of lecture and seminar topics, and suggests pertinent films. (Author/KSM)

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METROPOLITAN SPATIAL INJUSTICE: AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO INSTRUCTION IN URBAN GEOGRAPHY

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> "If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change the pear by eating it yourself. If you want to know the theory and methods of revolution, you must take part in revolution."
>
> Mao Tse Tung

THE UNIVERSITY

As an institution the University is an integral part of a socio-economic system. It derives its functions from the felt needs of the society, though it is bound to the power of the ruling class in that society. The educational system has two basic functions - to ensure the economic and cultural continuance of a society, and secondly, almost as the antithesis of that function, it must prepare people to advance beyond the limitations of accepted knowledge and ways of knowing. In passing down the accepted community wisdom the University is conservative or supportive of the status quo - regardless of the society's ideology. However when that social system is economically irrational and inhuman (and what other words can we use for a society that maintains a high poverty rate amidst "affluence," that accepts planned obsolescence, that in a recession slows spending on hospitals

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and schools but not on competing varieties of detergent) then the University becomes in its first function supportive of an irrational and inhuman status quo.

The demands of this first function are many, here there is space to mention only a few - the University must turn out people to continue the operation of the society in a technical capacity; the technicians of production (architects, commerce students, etc.), the technicians of consumption (advertising writers, market researchers) and the technicians of consent (sociologists, personnel managers - and of course, geographers). In addition the University provides a number of courses that are directly apologist - economics courses that teach Samuelson, ecology courses that don't deal with politics and the structure of capitalism, geography courses devoid of socio-economic content. To further maintain the present economic system, certain social values are instilled, including consumerism, acceptance of authority and passivity, fragmentation and competitiveness. By fragmentation, for example, I mean the process whereby reality is split into unconnected disciplines, with over-specialisation and unintegrated professionalism - what radical German students have called Fachidiotismus (Professional Cretinism).

The second function, of critical education, theoretically produces the open broadly questioning mind, and fosters the humanistic side of man, as an attempt to improve present conditions. However, because of the nature of the first function, in North America, this second function tends to induce criticism that is merely academic, removed from real material problems;

an ivory tower committed to the pursuit of excellence and the pursuit of irrelevance; to criticism that is fragmented, frequently unselected and uninformed; to democratic control of non-central aspects (for example, of residence life, but not of housing policy; even of exams, but never of grading or hiring). Even if the university questions critically and selectively, it can still serve the values of corporate society by, for example, the researcher working freely in a think tank developing better luxury apartments. So despite its critical thrust, this function can still serve to mask the real inhumanity of our society and to mystify the general nature of our education.

It is in this kind of setting that I see most North American Geography today. An excellent example of how to approach a set of problems within those two functions, and support the status quo, are the so called A.A.G. Task Forces. An ad hoc committee (sic) was established, largely drawn from the geography establishment, to ".... explore how the Association might respond to society's needs by helping to mobilize its membership in significant, large scale research efforts that are addressed to man's overriding problems" (January 1971 newsletter). These "significant" efforts were listed in the August/September issue of the newsletter - for example they included the comparison of the management and performance of urban systems in spatial terms; the preparation of comparative maps of the spatial structure of American cities; population pressures (with all its ugly overtones, in that it's our fault because we're copulating too much); the

relocation of ghettos (notice, not elimination); and a Task Force on poverty which will carry out ".... an empirical study across a sample of metropolitan areas ...." to "... validate an interrelated process of dynamic imbalance and yield estimates of need/resource variations .... a final analysis will seek to assess variations in local potentialities ...." To use an oft' quoted term these days - GIGO (garbage in/garbage out)!

The sensory deprivation tanks we call universities, departments, and courses, are of course a safe haven to teach the myths and models of geography. Carefully divorced from reality, even in those universities right downtown in a city, we can map land use, transport links, city morphology, even the distribution of incomes, without relating any of these to socio-economic reality.

GEOGRAPHY AND THE CITY

What is urban geography to be about? The myths of Burgess, Berry, and the Chicago approach? Is it to be a counting of units, of supermarkets, of housing types, and all the other mechanistic structures that make up the physique of the city. Or is it to be more? Are we to look at the realities of urban living in an economic system based on private profit and competitition rather than on public needs and utilisation of resources through the cooperative control of the community? Do we look at the luxury apartments standing vacant whilst there is a shortage of public housing; at the unequal distribution of medical services; at the multiplicity of competing models of

private goods (like cars) coexisting with the shortage of social goods (like public transport or parks)? Or do we ignore the realities and sink into the modelling strategies of Berry and Horton's latest supermarket of concepts and structures?

What is the city, this urban "object" of the so called social scientist? Is it just that set of houses, streets, schools, hospitals; a pattern of land uses; an abstract set of individuals identified and categorised according to age, sex, social class and occupation? You can teach urban geography in such a way that the city <u>is</u> that object. But is not the city also the way in which people live, assert themselves, become alienated, where social groups emerge and confront one another, where the irrationality and inhumanity of the society become expressed in the townscape? We have to deal with the total society, there is no urban "object" apart from that society. As Henri Lefebvre puts it, ".... the city is a projection of the total society, with its culture, its ethics, its values, including its economic base which give it its structure."

How do we then approach the city, as geographers, apprenticed or otherwise, cognisant of the real economic, cultural, and power relations within our society? The following sections suggest one approach, drawing on ideas and methods used by a number of geographers both inside and outside the classroom situation.

URBAN GEOGRAPHY

The school, the university, the laboratory have been conceived of as a retreat or refuge from normal city life, so it is crucial to place the course of instruction back into the community. It is important too, to try and identify the points of mystification concerning the city, since the city succumbs to many myths and a tissue of untruth, extending from the pages of Rolling Stone to those of TV Guide.

(a) approach and resources. A combination of classroom teaching, drawing upon as many technical innovations as possible in order to turn the a-sensual or mono-sensual nature of the University into a multisensate environment, with a thorough grounding in the city itself through field case studies.

Obviously the resources are going to be extensive, but one can cash in on the current interest in multimedia techniques and use them to the course's advantage. Because the interest in the course and its approach have been extensive, I am assuming here a large enrollment course with a weekly lecture session (or staged performance, as in fact it will turn out to be) utilising the gadgetry, broken down into tutorial/ seminar groups and individual or team field workers. These tutorial and field groups should also have available to them movie cameras, still cameras, tape decks, and videotape

packs.* Some seem to hesitate to use such technical gadgetry; but remember the police use films of demonstrations to facilitate oppression; we can use films, as well as videotapes, etc., to train communities to resist and overcome such oppression. Today's technology can be used at many different points as a means of exposing existing oppressive structures and as a means for speeding self-emancipation from them. Wherever possible community participants should be drawn into all three types of instruction; it is often instructive simply to do it the other way round - e.g. visit the city council meeting during the consideration of some contentious issue. In addition to these methods, a useful way to draw the whole University's attention to what is going on in the course, in an attempt to involve as much of the University community as possible, and incidentally to draw citizens onto the campus, is to organize regular movie sessions. These sessions can be organised around a particular aspect of the city, our socio-economic system, technocratic growth, etc. - movies utilised include Z, Medium Cool, Zabirski Point, Metropolis, Alphaville, Weekend, Going Down the Road, Modern Times, Salt of the Earth, and there are many many more.

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* If the student lacks the skills it is relatively easy to set up "workshops" which demonstrate the equipment; 2 or 3 weeks I have found is sufficient for most students to grasp the principles involved in making a sound-slide sequence or an edited videotape. The ease with which a group can use the latter, and produce effective work in the community, is shown in a N.F.B. film "St. Jacques VTR"; St. Jacques is a poor neighbourhood in Montreal where a group of welfare recipients organised themselves using the videotape pack as the nexus.

It is no good of course, no matter how many multimedia environments you devise, to merely sit still in the lecture hall, or to sit and entertain long disputations in the seminar room with a cup of coffee. One can analyse city structure and theoretical relationships in the university, whilst real and non-theoretical human beings are undergoing visible ordeal and near starvation within only a few miles of the classroom. This is the kind of random, unreal, and irresponsible situation that makes good listening and pleasant round-table chats, but does not compel us to realise and act upon the human desperation that is part of the reality of North American cities. As David Harvey recently put it so succinctly "... mapping even more evidence of man's potent inhumanity to man is counter revolutionary in the sense that it allows the bleeding-heart liberal to pretend he is contribution to solution when he in fact is not." He continues ".... nor does it (the revolutionary solution) lie in what can only be termed moral masturbation of the sort which accompanies the masochistic assemblage of some huge dossier on the daily injustices to the populace of the ghetto, over which we beat our breasts, commiserate with each other, before retiring to our fireside comforts ....", or we might add, lecture hall somnambulance. What we must do, is take a dual approach - develop approaches in geography which patently analyze and display the current situation, but which contribute to the task of socio-economic revolution, not hinder it; and as educators we must politicize our students as a function of

critical education, we must pursue praxis rather than theory, and we must submit ourselves to critical analysis. If I may quote David Harvey again ".... a first initial step on this path will be to discomfort ourselves, to make ourselves look ludicrous to ourselves ...." and to make ".... decisions that require 'real' as opposed to 'mere liberal' commitment - for it is indeed very comfortable to be a mere liberal." This is not to ignore the plight of those currently oppressed and exploited. There is a certain courage to fight for a new world and still help men to live with as little ordeal as possible, within the world they are currently embedded. But change there must be in geographers, in society; the classroom must become the community and vice versa. As Che Guevera once replied when asked what as a writer one could do for the Revolution, he answered that he used to be a doctor!

One of the few real efforts to take urban geography out where it belongs in the city amongst its people, is the Detroit Geographical Expedition, now a part of the Society for Human Exploration. A reading of any of its Field Notes reveals a real commitment to demystification of the city as perpetrated in the conventional course in urban geography, and an involvement in the community itself. One example of their work, is a report to parents (Discussion Paper No. 2 "School Decentralisation") on an intended plan to "integrate" schools in Detroit, which includes an examination of the political gerrymandering extent in that city. There is no doubt in my mind, that those geographers

(students and others) who took part in this study, experienced the city, its people, and the "system" at first hand, and that in doing so they were better able to understand the spatial patterns of injustice in urban areas. If only their technique were more widely used.

The only other example that I have direct knowledge of, was organised from Douglas College, in the Vancouver area. Students and a few faculty in the College, wishing to undertake a community education programme, identified what seemed to them to be a basic need in their local area - improved nutritional and consumer information of a fairly basic kind. The geographers concerned, led by Jim Sellers, collected price information for a standard shopping list, from which they compiled area by area tables of comparative pricing. Their concern was really with general pricing policies, rather than individual day to day, store to store fluctuations; they focused in on stores with consistently high or low pricing policies, those stores which consistently abused the word "special", and those groups of stores locked in a competitive pricing battle. Having collected such data, and other members of the group having devised a food planning/diet scheme meeting All Canadian nutritional standards for only $5 a week, the necessity was to diffuse the information to concerned low income and fixed income families. All too frequently data of this kind never reaches the people most in need of it; here, they took a unique and highly effective dual approach. On the one hand a handbill was circulated with all

welfare checks in the local area, which outlined the kinds of information available, and on the other hand they attempted to contact directly all self help groups in the community to set up a kind of "grass roots grapevine". Again, they did not leave it there, and acting as a kind of catalyst, the College group encouraged the self help groups to organise, interact, and set up their own data collecting agency, as well as encouraging them to consider cooperative buying arrangements. Ironically, but expected, the local newspaper chose to publicise only the dietary information and not the details of comparative pricing.

The importance of this educational process is that it not only involves the expertise of data collection and spatial analysis, but it involves those in the community, helps ease their suffering, and leaves them in an organised aware condition, so that they themselves can contribute directly to socio-economic change.

This course then, would have nothing to do with the monumental, statistical bureaucratic university or junior college. Nor,should I hasten to say, would it be training ground for revolutionary cardres who would rush out "to the workers" with empty hands and empty heads to offer them their muscles and vocal chords. This would be to misunderstand the socio-economic realities of metropolitan spatial injustices. What the student and the worker need is knowledge; a radical critique of, in this case, how the existing society operates in the city. Keeping an oppressed class in ignorance is one of the principal instruments of its oppression. The authentic

consciousness of an oppressed people entails an understanding of the necessity to abolish oppression. This course then should provide not just the intellectual experience (a critique of existing urban society as a whole and its parts, that is all the more radical for being broadranging, informative, utilising a wide range of factual and other material), but also the gut experience; the revelation of the oppressed, the oppressor, and an understanding of the abolition of that oppression. Through the intellectual and gut experience, through the university and the community, we can expose the existing repressive structures and hopefully speed the emancipation of the oppressed. Here is a challenging area of work for students and faculty in which the first requisite is: begin yourself to overcome the contradiction between theory and practice.

(b) Course outline. This is an approximate coverage of lecture and seminar topics, hopefully from which there will be a spin-off to field work, case studies, and community action. There is no attempt here to provide a precis of the lecture content, but rather to fill in the background, provide the philosophic and analytic framework, and hopefully the stimulus to students and faculty alike to organise their own course on the "city". From time to time some lesser known sources, including movies, are mentioned.

1. The methods and techniques of geography. Even though geography in North America is firmly grounded in a web of irrelevance, there are certain tools and techniques which are still of use. The important point is that we critically look at

their assumptions, drawbacks and limited areas of application; quantitative analysis used in the right way and at the right time can provide us with a stockpile of useful data, although in itself it may be of no direct use in understanding and explaining urban phenomena including man's actions. Equally we should not fear to venture outside the established geographical approaches, and utilise Marxist, phenomenological, and intuitive frameworks. Thus we may range from the purely descriptive sociological models of the city beginning with Burgess and logically extended to factorial ecology, to the dialectic analysis beginning with Marx and Engels, and carried on by Paul Baran and many others.* Such a range of methods and ways of knowing should allow us to carry on a rational enquiry into urban geography to wherever it may lead and ".... to undertake 'ruthless criticism of everything that exists, ruthless in the sense that the criticism will not shrink either from its own conclusions or from conflict from the powers that be' (Marx)....(the).... concern is to identify, to analyze, and in this way to help overcome the obstacles barring the way to the attainment of a better, more humane, and more rational social order" (P. Baran, "The commitment of the intellectual", Monthly Review, Vol. 12, No. 5, 1961, p. 17).

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* David Harvey notes the contrast between the early Chicago model (R.E. Park, E.W. Burgess and R.D. McKenzie, The City, Chicago: Chicago U.P. 1925), and an earlier analysis of Engels' (The condition of the working class in England in 1844, London: Allen and Unwin 1962 edition, pp. 46-47 has a much more realistic analysis of the structure of Manchester than could be achieved by the Chicago model) in his paper "Revolutionary and counterrevolutionary theory in geography and the problem of ghetto formation", Perspectives in Georgaphy, Vol. 2, Northern Illinois Press, 1972.

An argument often enters at this point, that to pursue only the "relevant" makes us faddish and succumb to the passing interests of some fortunate elite. I think this is a misunderstanding of relevance. I do not hold that all courses or all scholarship should directly bear on current ideological controversies; if however, in studying, in our case the city, we refuse to relate it to the greater socio-economic reality including its historical perspective; and in addition if we refuse to refer our work back to the fundamental humanist question "knowledge for what?" we are very likely to lapse into the disconnected trivialities, insignificant and even harmful make-work, and alienating mental exercises that distinguish so called "geography" course work and scholarship today. If I may repeat, "value neutrality" "...amounts in practice to endorsing the status quo, to lending a helping hand to those who are seeking to obstract any change of the existing order of things in favour of a better one" (Baran op cit., p. 14). To abdicate from judgement, involvement and action in times of grave conflict and crisis is to opt out of the responsibility not only of the citizen but of the "intellectual" as geographer, for it is to deny to society any benefit of the special knowledge and understanding of urban processes one may have acquired.

To this end also, the methods and techniques of the course must involve the community itself, with all its needs and problems as part of the course content. The students must be structured into groups meeting in seminars and working as teams. These

teams are then encouraged (1) to identify the needs or problems of the communities that make up the city; (2) to choose a certain need or problem as a focus of activity; (3) to plan a course of action which will aid understanding and help towards its solution; and (4) to carry out the steps involved in the plan.

In the course of carrying out such a case study, the students will naturally and normally, as part of the actual process, experience the city at first hand and acquire a number of skills. Thus they must venture into the community; become involved with people; be able to do research related to the socio-economic and mechanistic geographical structure of the community; set goals or objectives; plot steps towards the achievement of these goals; carry out these steps; evaluate or measure their progress towards the goals; and hopefully create a preparedness in the community for change as the Detroit and Vancouver examples have done. In this way students discover not only geographical skills, methods, and information, but they experience the city, its problems, the realities of the current socio-economic system, group work, and themselves. In the process of transforming the socio-economic environment they discover enemies, not only external but internal, within the community and within their own selves. This technique, combined with the critical radical analysis of the lectures themselves, transforms the learning process of geography from the ivory tower to the "communiversity."

Suggested sources included "St. Jacques VTR" (NFB movie*); "How to look at a city" NET; "The city as man's home", NFB; the publications of the Institute of Human Exploration, Detroit**; and David Harvey's paper in Perspectives in Geography, Vol. 2. In addition the suggested patterns for historical surveys (p. 21) may also be useful.

2. The city in history. The city as we know it is not just a "unit" or "object", created as a discrete entity at one point in time - it's a continuous phenomena. Even the youngest of cities has a sense of time as continuity, contributed by its earliest buildings and artifacts. The city as we know it is literally built on a graveyard, on the bones and remnants of earlier generations. With so much emphasis by "trendy" "modish" liberal faculty on the "insistent present", the "now generation" or foundations of Reichian peanut butter, it is essential to counteract this by underlining the historical perspectives and show that the past continues to exercise a subtle but pervasive influence upon our perceptions, feelings and experiences in the contemporary city. In this sense all history is contemporary history. ".... a true statement about a social fact can (and most likely will) turn to a lie if the fact referred to is torn out of the social whole of which it forms an integral part, if the fact is isolated from the historical process in which it is embedded" (Baran, op. cit. p. 17). Amongst the many

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* Film sources include, the National Film Board of Canada (NFB), National Educational Television (NET), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC); all are widely available in North America.

** Write to Andrew Karlin, 10210 2nd Ave., Apt. C-6, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A. Their motto is "Geographers! Back into the field. You have nothing to lose but your armchairs".

absurd assumptions of the North American social scientist looking at the city, none is more superificial than that our problems and attempted solutions are unique. The traffic problem was acute in the Sixteenth Century, with the deadly collisions of uncontrollable animals, unregulated pedestrians, and wheeled vehicles. Second Century Rome had slums, high densities, congestion, windfall speculators, and venal city governments; and the Medieval City, that favourite dream of churchmen and Lewis Munford, was dank, dark, ugly, and unsanitary away from its cathedral plazas. Much vaunted Athens rested on apartheid; the majority of the people in the polis were not free - women were not citizens; slavery was an accepted institution; racism was rampant, for only Greeks were not barbarians.

There are many ways to tackle this historical perspective, but four interlocking themes seem to dominat throughout the history of cities:- (i) cities as vanguards of change in the economic system; through the agricultural revolutions, the Industrial revolution, to the Tertiary revolution (6 out of 10 employed North Americans, work in service occupations, which are basically urban). The manipulation of the economy from its urban base, was from the beginning class based. As Gordon Childe notes "... the surplus produced by the new economy was, in fact, concentrated in the hands of a relatively small class. Such concentration was doubtless necessary for the accumulation of absolutely small individual contributions into reserves

sufficient for the great tasks imposed on civilised society. But it split society into classes and produced further concentration in the new economy. For it limited the expansion of industry and consequently the absorption of the surplus rural population" (What happened in History, Baltimore, Penguin, 1961, p. 99). The feedback effect of the urban-based economic system became crystallised through time as these kinds of class conflicts; (ii) cities as vanguards in the man/nature conflict, which has become strengthened in the post Christ era. Cities became the centres of attempts to manipulate the environment to man's advantage, and particularly in the West, dominates the view of nature as a bottomless pit of continuous exploitation; (iii) cities as centres of institutional control, from the institutions which were necessary to organise the irrigation systems along the Nile to the institutions governing the contemporary investment market. Cities from the beginning were in the hands of power groups wielding such institutional control; some cities were founded, manipulated, and even abandoned at the whim of such controlling groups, often for the Machiavellian purpose of shifting populations in order to destroy local regional loyalties and so to increase the group's administrative control over the whole territory. Palaces, cities, literati, art, and music, the traditional "objects" of historical growth, were usually the expression of continuing brutal exploitation of urban labourers and agricultural workers, and of the brutal use, albeit on a small scale, of the

environment; (iv) cities as mirrors of man's value systems, beliefs, culture, and ideology. City structure can be the crystallisation of societal values; town plans and buildings made to represent the images in men's minds. An excellent example is Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Sienna, where the citizens tried to produce a city in the image of the "Celestial City", and to oversee its construction appointed a special committee, the "Officio del Ornato"; for some Siennese, beauty was a day to day affair. Seventeenth Century Versailles (like contemporary Las Vegas) reflects the affluence and leisure activities of a rich elite; Nineteenth Century English industrial cities reflect the importance of the new technology, the rising capitalistic ethics, and the poverty of human values; and so to Twentieth Century North American cities with their endless sleezy ticky tacky slurbs reflecting our inhuman sleezy values and lives.

These four themes have interlocked through history; cities arose when some agricultural surplus came into being which indicates some exploitation and use of the environment, institutional means to organise the collection and distribution of products, and the existence of individuals, groups, societies, and values, which can undertake such a complex process. The growth of cities very closely followed the introduction of agriculture some five to six thousand years ago. Originating in a number of widely separated centres in the Old and New Worlds, these essentially independent sequences of events

and changes culminated in roughly similar institutional arrangements. All were based on the accumulation of greater food surpluses which allowed and freed some members of the community to specialise in, for example, the production of tools, or in the priesthood. At this early stage cities illustrate a particular ecological role in their function as junction points or nodes in the collection and redistribution of agricultural surpluses. In addition the city provided a permanent base for the operation of new institutions that authoritatively administered the interrelations between the farmers and citizens. In doing so they became not just points of storage for surpluses, but centers of conspicuous expenditure on public buildings, for the maintenance of elite power groups in luxurious surroundings, and for the enhancement of military power. With such concentrations of wealth and power, early urban centres became both the proponents of expansionism and powerful incentives for external attack; massive fortifications and walls acted as barriers to some urban expansion right up to the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

From this point the city can be traced in a cohesive framework from its early beginnings, through the Aristotalian city, the Roman city, the Medieval town, the Renaissance cities, the uncities of Industrial England, right up to the slurbs or semi-cities of today. "All history...", Marx wrote, ".... is the continuous transformation of human nature". The old ensemble of socio-economic relations, architecture and art go on influencing us, sometimes to the extent that Marx also

comments, ".... the tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living." The present nightmare is in part made clearer by understanding these past bad dreams.

Suggested Films: "The City: Heaven or Hell" (Lewis Munford) NFB; "Heroic Materialism" (Civilisation Series No. 13) BBC; "Morning in the Streets" BBC; "Rivers of Time", Sinclair Road.

Suggested Patterns: Active involvement in the past history of a particular city or group of cities, could take the form of several interesting studies recently completed in Canada - for instance, Leandre Bergeron's, A Patriote's Handbook, Montreal: New Canada Press, 1971 (originally published as Petit manuel d'historie du Quebec), a study of the class dimension of Quebec's history; the Corrective Collective She named it Canada (Because that's what it was called), Vancouver, 1971*; or The People's History of Cape Breton, Halifax, 1971**.

3. The city as an economic place. The contemporary city is of course not an undifferentiated Thünian plain; it's not a meaningless agglomeration of people and services, but rather a composite of many regions and areas. In the mass society of

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* Address: The Corrective Collective, 511 Carrall Street, Vancouver 4, B.C., Canada. Price 50 cents. Bulk rates available.

** Produced under the auspices of the Canadian Federal Government's "Opportunities for Youth" programme; obtainable from "People's History" P.O. Box 1282, Halifax North Postal Station, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. Price 25 cents; teacher's manual and bulk rates also available.

suburbia, urban residents rely to some degree on this differentiation of the city to guide them through its slovenly chaos. This spatially composite nature can be tackled from two overlapping viewpoints - the economic (the concern of this subsection) and the cultural (the concern of the following subsection).

The city exists not just as part of the image of the "good life", it has an underlying economic process or economic base. Contemporary cities for instances are the headquarters or subsidiary centres of a national economic system; are increasingly dependent for their existence upon their role as control centres in the large scale markets, institutional system, and government control system. As centres of the marketing/consumer system, where 60% of the employed force essentially services the rest of the production system, the city becomes the stage for the shit screwing of the average resident - the advertising barrage of the city based and dominated media.

There are three broad levels at which this can be tackled: (a) the economic raison d'etre of the city; the input/output relationships to the rest of the regional and national economies. At this level the city is the centre of economic control over the rest of the economy; hence our concern is with the external economic relationships of the city. The growth in power of the monopoly and oligopoly, the rise of conglomerates, and the effect of these extended capitalistic corporate controls on the city can be drawn out. Control over the economic landscape is not only increased by such economic changes, but is made easier by such technological changes as the development of the

computer, on line computer sharing, and large specialised data banks. The centre of the geocybernetic landscape will be a city-based corporation and its computer facilities; (b) the second level is concerned with the economic forces that differentiate the city internally; these internal forces are reflected in the value of land and transportation costs, which in turn are manifested in the different uses to which various parts of the city's spatial extent are allocated (subject of course to social and political controls). The traditional Burgess approach, and the factorial ecology which has supplanted it, tend to mis-represent and misunderstand the workings of the capitalist market mechanism. Rather than differentiating the city by moral or social order, the market mechanism forces a class differentiation on city structure*; slums, ghettos, working class tracts, middle class suburbia, etc., are explicable in terms of the land rent mechanism and the ability of the urban elite to manipulate the urban structure to their advantage. Thus despite the apparent economic anachronism, poor groups can occupy high rent areas close to the city centre, since this is to the profit advantage of the landlord. Should congestion costs rise, and it becomes to the advantage of the elite to live closer into the central city, such a pattern might be reversed as the elite utilises its greater ability to choose whatever location it pleases.

Suburban expansion is also capable of such an economic analysis. Since the Second World War the transition to conditions

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* An excellent account of the difference in approach is laid out in Harvey, op. cit.

of new capitalism and mass society has underlain the rise of "consumption" as a more important problem than "production". The automobile has become the focus of this problem of over-production and with its increased use has gone the expansion of suburbia. "We have here a classic case of quantity turning into quality. If a few people buy cars and move to the suburbs, that is the end of the matter. But if many do so, all sorts of things become profitable or necessary which otherwise would not have been - shopping centres can stand for what is profitable, schools for what is necessary. A snowball effect is generated which continues to operate until the bottom of the hill is reached, that is, until the internal migration subsides and the requisite new facilities have been provided. At the time of writing (1966) ..... it is still not possible to say when the whole movement will lose its momentum" (P. Baran and B. Sweezy, Monopoly Capital, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969, p. 245). The development of the regional shopping centre and surrounding housing tracts, dependent on the automobile, is explicable then in terms of the latest solution of capitalism to the problem of overproduction; (c) as a third approach to the economic mechanisms set out above can be examined at the micro level; the level of the distribution of shops, the workings of the economic urban system as it affects the weekly consumption patterns of the city resident. The difference in spatial supply between the regional shopping centre and the working class and inner city surrounds can be illustrated in terms of supply, functions available, quality of goods, and prices

charged. Even Berry in his Chicago study was unable to ignore that a different "hierarchy" of tertiary activities occurred in working class and ghetto situations.

Suggested Films: "Day after Day" NFB; "Boomsville" NFB; "Like rings on water" NFB; "The Diary of a Harlem Family" NET (an absolutely devastating indictment); "Ammerikka" Newsreel; "The Assembly Line" Annaberg School of Communisation; "Weekend" (Jean Luc Goddard - available various sources).

Suggested Pattern: Under neo capitalism there is, amongst various contradictions, an inherent contradiction between the technical means of production and the social relations of production, i.e. there appear to be two contradictory forces at work - on the one hand the requirement of mobility of men and changeability of environment, in terms of a permanent technological revolution, and on the other hand, a social stability in basic economic relationships in order not to disturb the present economic class status quo. In terms of the city and these economic relationships, a study of the phenomenon of urban core decay and its reverse effect, the expansion of suburbia could be undertaken, by tracing the sequences of immigrations and outmigrations; the decisions behind major capital investments; technological changes (particularly in terms of the introduction of the automobile) as brought out in the closure of intraurban lines, ferries, designation of parking areas, rise of regional shopping centres; the move to re-invigorate old areas of decay (San Francisco's waterfront redevelopments, Vancouver's "Gastown") and by what groups. In this way it would be possible

to mesh the economic townscape with its development through time.

4. The city as a cultural place. We all have points of reference within the city to which we may or may not ascribe some emotive meaning; we perceive and feel the city in different ways, often based income, class, and educational differences. We build up images, illusions, myths, and feelings which help us to identify our own territorial area and other districts within the city. In other words there are varieties of urban experience which arise from the way different people apperceive in the urban environment those particular systems in which they participate, identify with, and support. Although there have been challenges to this idea of spatially delimited urban enclaves, the city does appear to consist of socio-economic segments, whose members are located in comparable positions in the class structure of North American society; in the closeness of living they share similar incomes, life chances, life styles, ideologies and political outlooks, have access to similar opportunities and are subject to comparable constraints. As urbanites we have "a sense of place". To quote an existentialist writer, George Matore, ".... an individual is not distinct from his place; he is that place". That place, that space, are not just perceived, they are experienced, they are part of the felt realities of the urbanite.

Italian, Swede, Ukrainian, Chinese, Anglo American, Afro-American, French Canadian and Native Indian subcultures on the one hand, class life styles and ethnic-racial ghettos on the other, are reflected in residential locations, house types,

landscaping, availability of amenities, consumption patterns, etc. This dynamic cultural-economic bound spatiality is reflected in the city's overall land use, in the kinds and values of property, and in the spatial occurrence of particular functions. Since there is a variety of life experiences in the city, these become reflected in varieties of urban experiences, which in turn are reflected in particular spatial patterns. The different econo-cultural classes and groups will have highly individualised conceptions of what is typically thought to be the same urban world. The milkman, the bartender, the single stenographer, the teenager, and the mother of three will all have different urban experiences and perceptions; throw in other differences - physical segregation, age graded institutions, the confines of apartheid, and we can see that as a consequence of particular impositions we confront the urban world in a distinctive manner. These differences reinforce and, in some cases, give rise to distinctive urban views and patterns of activity. These experiences, senses and perceptions which are held in the mind, become translated by crude symbols of spatial use - the way property is cared for, garden landscaping, house types, the use of the street, alley or park.

Suggested Films: "NY! NY!" Museum of Modern Art, New York; "21-87" NFB; "Scorpio Rising" Kenneth Anger; "Commit or Destruct" NET; "American: on the edge of abundance" NET/BBC; "Come Dance with me" Canadian Film Cooperative; "Buffalo Airport Visions" Canadian Film Cooperative.

Suggested Pattern: Beware of getting too involved in the purely mechanistic rattomorphic field of perception; however, T. Sarrinen's "Perception of Environment" CCG Resource Paper No. 5, 1969, is worth looking at. In addition studies of Vancouver (I. Joyce, "Subcultural variations in responses to urban environment", M.A. Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1970); Boston (M. Fried and P. Gleicher "Some sources of residential satisfaction in an urban slum", Journal of the Am. Institute of Planners, Vol. 27, 1961, pp. 305-315, and W. Pirey "Sentiment and symbolism as ecological variables", Am. Soc. Review, Vol. 10, pp. 140-48); and Tripoli (J. Gulick "Images of an Arab City", Journal of the Am. Institute of Planners, Vol. 28, 1962, pp. 266-276) are useful, as are more general studies like Kevin Lynch's Image of City (M.I.T. Press, 1964), H.J. Gans' The Urban Villagers (Free Press, 1962), J.R. Seeley's "The slum: its natural use and users", Journal of the Am. Institute of Planners, Vol. 25, 1959, pp. 7-14, Peter Hall's "The urban culture and suburban culture" in Man in the city of the future (editors R. Ells and C. Walton), McMillan, 1968, pp. 99-146, and many others. These should perhaps be counterbalanced by the phenomenological viewpoint of O.F. Bollnow's "Lived Space" in N. Lawrence and D. O'Connor (eds.) Readings in Existential Phenomenology (Prentice Hall, 1967).

5. The city as a political place. The middle class planner, real estate salesman, and University professor join together in public policy making at one level and try to build

the city in their own image. The well off middle class kids in their Levis and beads, who think they alone have inherited freedom, through their lobotomised consciousness try to build whole life styles out of the possession and monopolisation of luxuries, while the men they have empowered by their abdication hold governance over the city, raze its buildings, build freeways and unwanted shopping centres. The city becomes a political arena for elite groups of real estate developers, businessmen and opportunists, who seize power through that very abdication rife through the apathetic "silent majority". These political controls, either centralised or dispersed, are manifested eventually in the spatial pattern of urban development, both past and present.

Again, there seem to be several avenues of approach. First, what is the political milieu and community power structure? or to put it more simply, who does rule? Is it some elite group, or is policy making and political control dispersed amongst various groups or communities in a city? Secondly, how do the political controls manifest themselves in urban development? Which public policies have, are, or will shape the city? Some of these operate institutionally through the planning process and zoning ordinances; others come less formally through various personal networks and pressure groups.

The key concept in an attempt to answer the question of who rules, is that of power. Who has the power to make the decisions that determine the shape of our cityscapes? A

preponderant share of this power appears to reside in the hands of small class groups who are either directly or indirectly linked to the capitalist establishment. This establishment makes up a cohesive group, characterised by a myriad of social and institutional connections relating one to another - the kind of relationship sketched in the Diagram for Vancouver, could be repeated in city after city. On the other hand most of us live in a world dominated by the decisions of these small groups, varying from the local Community Planning or Fine Arts group to the Town Planning or Police Commission. It is informative just to trace the membership of such groups and note the affiliation; after only a short while their establishment nature and interlinkage becomes very obvious. In a recent study of the redevelopment of an urban grey area, the developers were found to be linked through the local Community Arts Council with prominent members of the local elite. On being interviewed a number directly admitted that they saw such community organisations as a way of furthering the particular interests of their "clan"; none showed particular interest in the fate of the "lumperproleteriat" displaced by the rebuilding of this skid row. As a local newspaper put it ".... it's the Community Arts Council and the hundreds of gutsy, talented, little people who have made Gastown what it is today". The little people being in fact well established members of Vancouver's elite; the

investigator, Tony Williams himself concludes ".... personal historical association was responsible for the recent redevelopment of Gastown to the extent that it coincided naturally with the short range economic interests of the petite bourgeoisie involved and provided a trigger for the activation of the important interests"*.

Suggested Pattern: This area has been relatively neglected in geography; most political geography has been apologetic or concerned with broadscale national and international problems. An exception is E.M. Gibson's "The Impact of Social Belief on Landscape Change: A Geographical Study of Vancouver", Ph.D. Thesis, UBC, 1971, where he views the developmental pattern of Vancouver, particularly park locations, in the light of the effective roles that the various classes played in the political process and the different abilities to pursue and manipulate the planning process. The latter was particularly strong amongst the local elite and business groups, including the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. A useful analysis of the structure of power, class groupings, and political structures in Canada is John Porter's The Vertical Mosaic (University of Toronto Press, 1965). Three films which show, on a different track, attempted local community involvement in the city political process are "Community Control", "The case against Lincoln Center", and "Garbage"; all distributed by Newsreel.

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* Unpublished research paper, "The Greening of Gastown", SFU 1971.

6. The city: nexus of society - some suggested areas for case studies. Although we may view the city as a multi-sensate environment, perceive its rich street life, bustling corner stores and taverns, understand the existence of strong networks of human interdependencies and trust in some of the older more cohesive neighbourhoods, it is not long before the harsh material conditions and economic exploitation so rampant in North American society must impinge on our consciousness. These crystallize into such concepts as the ghetto, the slum, and the urban reservation; the words themselves reflect the disapproval of middle class propriety when confronted with a reality it would prefer to ignore. Obviously, the influences analyzed in the previous sections are interwoven in fact, and their influences and degrees of importance can be gauged if we transgress the economic, cultural, political boundaries in a series of case studies.

(i) Poverty. There are many ways to analyze poverty in the city and considerable literature has been built up in recent years including three major contributions by geographers*; there is however only one way to solve it, and here the geographical contribution is negligible.

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* R. Peet (editor) "Geography of American Poverty", special issue of Antipode, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1970; R.L. Morrill and E. Wohlenberg, The Geography of Poverty in the U.S., New York: McGraw Hill, 1971; and R. Peet (ed.) Geographical Perspectives on American Poverty and Social Well Being, Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1972.

Approximately one out of every five North Americans lives below the poverty line*; in some cities the proportion is even higher. With poverty goes a whole range of symptoms - poor education, poor health, substandard housing, personal disabilities of one kind or another. Many commentators see these latter factors as the causes of poverty, rather than for what they are: its symptoms. There is, of course, a kind of terror when half a city lives in substandard living conditions; when young and old alike are deprived of a reason for existing; when they are forced to live on $26 a week and canned dog food; when unemployed people are so dehumanized that many commit suicide or become alcoholics. If you don't believe me, venture across the tracks from your middle class fortress. These negative characteristics of the poor are not autonomous forces; they are responses to objective deprivation. Poverty produces poverty; most people become poor because the workings of our economic system simply deprive them of adequate incomes. Poverty then does not lie outside of our political-economic system - it is produced by it; by its inability to assure continued high employment, by its crazy sense of priorities, by its distorted allocation of resources, and by the way it rewards achievement. At the community level city governments and welfare agencies are managed or controlled by local power cliques of merchants, real estate

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* Every society has its own standards for measuring poverty by its "subsistence minimum" (the basic needs of that society - clothing, food, fuel, shelter). Poverty is thus the condition in a particular society when certain of its members have insufficient incomes to reach that subsistence minimum - See Baran and Sweezy, op. cit., pp. 288-289.

interests, the media, and businessmen, to ensure that poverty and its consequences will not be a political issue at the level of city politics.

A large number of case studies would come under this rubric, including some of the work of the Detroit Expedition; but beware bleeding heart liberalism, such as the AAG Task Force. Canada has recently seen through the work of Ian Adams' two good analyses, in his Poverty Wall (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970) and The Real Poverty Report (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Ltd., 1971)* which contain many leads to the kind of case study that could be undertaken; again, however, in the final analysis, Adams is unable to commit himself to the solution. C.W. Gonick is not afraid however to pinpoint the problem in "Poverty and Capitalism", a Canadian Dimension reprint.** He sees poverty as built into the North American economic system, aggravated by government policies, and unimpeded by welfare, housing, legal, and medical programmes. Within that economic system, antipoverty programmes will continue to involve the treatment of symptoms - to alleviate individual hardship and to attempt to dissipate social protest. But we cannot escape the basic premise - the poverty we and our students see and

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* The title is a reference to the Special Senate Committee Report on Poverty, Poverty in Canada (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1971), which is apologetic liberalism at its worst.

** Obtainable for 25 cents, from Canadian Dimension, P.O. Box 1413, Winnipeg 1, Manitoba, Canada.

experience in North American cities today, is a product of capitalism; capitalism creates and recreates poverty. The forces that mould resource allocation in our cities, and produce such a distorted sense of priorities place severe obstacles on the kind of reallocation that case studies might indicate would most directly eliminate poverty; the proven inability of capitalism to maintain and sustain full employment guarantees certain defeat to any "War" on poverty.

However much capitalism has changed in recent decades one thing seems certain: it has not yet relegated poverty to a residual position; nor will it ever do so. If I may quote the 70 year old woman, who having had her pension cheque stolen and offered a $5 food voucher to last her the month says, at the conclusion of the NFB movie "Up against the system", ".... what this country needs, is a revolution!"* Unfortunately we are only too willing to sacrifice our principles of freedom and equality, in the defence of our property and the status quo.

(ii) Apartheid. We tend to think of "apartheid" as confined to the state politics of South Africa and Rhodesia; unfortunately it's alive and well in both the United States and Canada. Closely linked to the phenomenon of poverty, "apartheid" is a system of racial spatial and economic segregation and oppression, affecting a number of groups in North America from the French Canadians* to Afro-Americans, Peurto Ricans, native

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* Other movies of interest, the already mentioned "St. Jacques VTR", NFB; in addition "The world of one in five", NFB.

** See P. Vallieries, White Niggers of America, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971.

Indian groups, and Mexican-Americans. Here we have then the double indemnity of absolute inequality of resource distribution (i.e. poverty) and the persistent discrimination ranging from racial prejudice in job and housing markets, to inadequate educational facilities* and health services.** The continued failure of the capitalist system to eliminate poverty is paralleled by its inability to provide equitable services and eliminate discrimination.

As was alluded to above, North American cities have undergone radical population shifts in recent decades, linked in part to the greater mobility of affluent classes. These decentralisation shifts and the expansion of suburbia, have however been very selective; the net result has been a selective centrifugal movement of affluent and Euro-Americans. The central cities, and in some cases the "city" politically defined in metropolitan terms, have become in this process dominantly urban "bantustans." This process of segregation tends to more firmly separate the groups of people involved, and the results are "ghettoes" - an area from which you might want to leave, but from which because of economic and labour discrimination there appears to be no escape. The ghetto and the urban reservation become firmly entrenched in the spatial structure of the city,

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* See for example, Grace Lee Boggs "Education: the great obsession", Monthly Review, Vol. 19, pp. 18-39.

** Pierre de Vise "Slum medicine: the apartheid health system of Chicago", University of Chicago, Community and Family Planning Center, Report No. 6, 1969.

when, in addition institutional barriers are thrown around the urban enclaves - these can take a variety of forms but the most common are various restrictive zoning and land use controls. These can be used in suburban areas to prevent the development of low income housing directly, or to prevent the development of low cost units by requiring large lot sizes and maximising minimum floor space requirements. Robert Wood writes of the frequent occurrence of the ".... garrison suburb, practising station wagon socialism, planning, scheming, and zoning to bring in the 'right' people and industry and exclude the 'wrong' people...." ("The new metropolis and the new university", Educational Record, Vol. 48, 1965, p. 307). Apartheid policies of this type are reinforced by government and local tax revenue structures, whereby the poor are seen as economic and social liabilities.

Not all ghettoes are centrally located, but certainly the dominant spatial pattern is that way; an exception for example is the Mexican community of San Fernando City in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. However no matter where their spatial location, no matter what group is involved (and each has a differing historical-geographic experience, as for example in the case of native Indian groups), the same spatial ghettoization occurs, with consequent restrictions of interaction with the remaining urban neighbourhoods, restriction of employment opportunities, immobility, and inadequate services, including housing. Such separation is institutionalised within our urban

system and seemingly is a permanent feature of North American capitalism. We must go further than two liberal investigators who suggest "..... nothing less than a complete change in the structure of the metropolis ..... will solve the problems of the ghetto" (J.F. Kevin and J.J. Persky "The ghetto, the metropolis and the nation", Harvard, Regional and Urban Economics Program, Disc.Paper No. 30, 1967, p. 18) - for nothing less than a complete replacement of a system which perpetrates such inequalities will do.*

A great deal of work has been carried out on this matter of racial segregation and poverty (see for example the bibliography in Antipode Vol. 2, No. 2, 1970) but most of it is again liberal apologetics. A number of approaches can be taken - the Detroit Expedition has analyzed problems which applied to the reality of young black lives, with topics like "The rat regions of Detroit", "Types of child place space", "Patterns of traffic fatalities among black children", "Money flows in the negro ghetto", and "The drug trade". A number of films can back this up for the rest of us - "Oh! Dem Watermelons" (Canyon Cinema Cooperative), "Not as yet decided" (Canadian Film Cooperative), "Diary of a Harlem family" (NET), or detailing the treatment of Indians in Canada, "The ballad of the Crowfoot" (NFB). The other approach is to stop at nothing less than the elimination of apartheid.

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* See for example Earl Ofari's denouncement of capitalist "solutions" in The myth of Black Capitalism, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1970.

(iii) Other Topics. There are many other topics that can also be covered - only two more are mentioned here.

The city is used as the litter of nonhousebroken corporations and businessmen who pollute the water and contaminate the air. The environmental problem is real; any system that is orchestrated by maxims like "production for the sake of production", and "consumption for the sake of consumption", which reduces community relationships to market relationships, which sanctifies economic growth in terms of a rising GNP, and where "needs" are tailored by the mass media to create a public demand for utterly useless commodities, is bound to shred the ecological links that are vital to our survival. Location of the worst offenders, schemes to clear up littered beaches, and efforts to restock rivers, is an interesting pursuit of red herrings. The power elite knows how easy it is to coopt and use the enthusiasm of the "ecofreak" as a middle class palliative for real action, a diversionary tactic to take your attention from the real villains. We are told for example, by Peter Janssen in "The Age of Ecology" (Ecotactics: Ballantine, 1970, pp. 54-55) that today's youth is frustrated with respect to civil rights and the Vietnam war, and hence with ".... a deep yearning in everybody's heart for one good clean cause" has decided that ".... what could be better than erasing pollution?" Another metropolitan spatial injustice for sure, particularly if you live adjacent to an oil refinery or lead-zinc smelter, but the Afro-American magazine Urban West

(April-May 1970 issue) answers the ecofreaks' good clean cause with ".... obviously environment does serve as a copout for some. The environment issue is a logical diversion for people who don't want our leadership bothering with desegregation, minimum wages, or inadequate public housing facilities". The strategic ratios in the urban population crisis are not population densities and growth rates (that's the copulatory fixation again) but rather the production ratios of industry, the plundering of environment by capital, and the ever continued pursuit of profits (including emission control devices!). A number of case studies open up here, and it should be relatively easy to involve the community at the moment, but before doing so, read Murray Bookchin's Ecology and revolutionary thought (Times Change Press, 1970), and his Post-scarcity anarchism (Rampants Press, 1971) and see "Multiply and subdue the earth" (Ian McHarg - NET) or "A matter of attitude" (NFB).

Another topic which does pose a real problem to urban existence, is that of transportation. In fact in many middle class minds (and newspapers) it looms larger amongst a city's problems than poverty, racial segregation, alienation or anonymity. It is also probably because of this one area where community action and the interests of public welfare, have had success. It has been uphill in some cases, battling against contrived letter writing campaigns in favour of a new freeway by construction firms*, court injunctions, conflicts and

* The Toronto experience with the proposed completion of the Spadina freeway included this and other manipulatory campaigns - see David and Nadine Nowlan, The Bad Trip, Toronto: New Press, 1970.

lobbying by a wide range of interest groups both for and against particular projects. It seems to be extremely difficult to achieve a balanced and equitable urban transportation system within our socio-economy, partly because of the profits to be gained by freeway building and auto construction*, and partly because of the skewed values system in North America which apparently sees greater merit in private investment than that in the public sector. This latter point is apparent in Meyer, Kain and Wohl's widely used book The urban transportation problem (Harvard U.P. 1966), where they carefully stack the evidence for the freeway and against public transport by costing out a bus transit system whose operations are on a limited access freeway built exclusively for the buses' use, whilst costing a freeway system for the car which is to use only subcompact commuter cars! Even more importantly, Meyer et al ignore the economic implications of alternative transportation technologies for society as a whole (viz. they take no account of such externalities as air pollution, the extent of private investment needed in an all car system, the social costs in terms of groups left without transport facilities, and the power of transport systems themselves to shape urban structure and form). By surveying the basic structure of the metropolis and its transportation supply, but ignoring the larger societal issues involved, Meyer et al completely negate the usefulness of their book. Hopefully those more cognizant

* See for example the revelations of Helen Leavitt in Superhighway Superhoxo, New York, Ballantine, 1970.

of the wider socio-economic framework within which transport falls will not make similar errors. Certainly new freeway construction (somehow nearly always aligned through poorer neighbourhoods), bridges, and the lack of a public utility for transit are areas to analyzed and acted upon. Some of the essence of the "car culture" is brought out in an NFB cartoon "What on earth?", and many of the problems are to be seen in "Traffic Snarl" (NET), and tackled in Rites of Way: the politics of transportation in Boston and the U.S. city by Alan Lupo, Frank Colcord and E.R. Fowler (Boston: Little, Browne Co., 1971).

7. The city and the future. To end on a somewhat more optimistic note some future possibilities can be examined. Some of these futures are outlined in Lewis Munford's NFB film "The city and the future" and NET's "A view from the 24th Century". There is of course, no determined way of forecasting the future since there are too many unknown variables, and maybe external structures and cities morphology will be of lesser importance than the human condition and the radicalisation of man. There tends to be, in view of the future, an over-concentration on new technologies, on changes in the facade, on morphological change - this is the Marshall McLuhan and Buckminster Fuller myth of apolitical technology. This conceals the essentially political and economic nature of the social order, behind a spurious technological rationalism, manifest in spacecraft, linear induction motors, cities under the sea, and power from nuclear fusion. The kind of neutrality perpetrated by the Rand think tanks, Herman Kahn and other futurists, is a cover for

preserving the status quo and the dominance in the Western world of capitalism - it's the same error that computer programmers make when their machines are fed extrapolations of present trends, and predictably come up with answers involving more of the same; more roads, more houses, more welfare payments, and ultimately more slums, more oppression, more poverty .....

A number of writers do however describe the city and society of the future, as presently being developed,in a very down to earth manner. All I can suggest is that you read them and make up your own mind - begin with William Hinton's Fanshen (New York: Vintage Books 1968), continue with E.L. Wheelwright and B. McFarlane's The Chinese Road to Socialism: economics of the Cultural Revolution (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), take in Joan Robinson's The Cultural Revolution in China (Baltimore: Penguin 1969) and J.N. Hawkin's Educational Theory in the People's Republic in China (University of Hawaii Press, 1971, Asian Studies Pub. No. 6), and finish with a tremendous geographic account of that society, Keith Buchanan's Transformation of the Chinese Earth (London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd., 1970).

CONCLUSION

In the best of all possible worlds, with no man starving and with no small children going without food and medical treatment, with no injustice and no mechanized oppression, and no direct and racist exploitation of one group of men by

another, it would be an interesting exercise, to study hierarchies of shopping centres, central place models, and pure city forms; to write of the "quality of life"; to analyze the distribution of widgets and gizmos. But we do not live in such a world, and it is not merely incorrect, but brutal, violent, devious, and self deceived, to speak, write, or teach as if our greatest difficulties and most important challenges were divorced from the realities of life in our cities and in our society. The University, including the geography establishment, can ignore injustice and can take on the ice cold capability of an anaesthetic self removal from the consciousness of guilt and pain; it can and it does. But that is not "geography", for "geography" is a study of man and the realities of his socio-economic milieu; anything less is merely supportive of the status quo.

VANCOUVER'S AMORPHOUS DECISION GROUPS